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HIERONYMUS BOSCH: TEMPTATION OF
SAINT ANTHONY (detail)
Private Collection, New York

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FIG. 1. HIERONYMUS BOSCH: TEMPTATION OF SAINT ANTHONY
Private Collection, New York

ART IN AMERICA

AN ILLUSTRATED QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXXII

APRIL, 1944

NUMBER 2



A TEMPTATION OF SAINT ANTHONY BY HIERONYMUS BOSCH

BY CHARLES DE TOLNAY

Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey

The attribution of the here published *Temptation of Saint Anthony*¹ (Figs. 1 and 2) to Hieronymus Bosch does not need a detailed demonstration: The physiognomy of the Saint, the system of the folds of the garments, the different motifs surrounding the figure, the treatment of the landscape, the gamut of colors, and last but not least, the partly *alla prima* technique are so completely in Bosch's style and are of so high quality that we may be sure of the authenticity of the panel.

The cold silvery gray of the saint's mantle and the warm brownish and beige tones of the hillocks behind him dominate the colors. The other tones, the reds and the greens, are pushed to the sides — a spot of cinnabar at the lower left, a spot of pink at the left of the second plane, the pink of the flesh at the right, and olive-greens in the landscape of the background above.

¹New York, Art Collection. Panel: H. 16½, W. 10½ inches. Hitherto unpublished.

These tones recur again, however, as small spots in the figure of the saint (the prayer book is bound in deep green velvet, the "T" on his mantle is also green, his hands and his face have a flesh-pink color) thus establishing a coloristic unity which subordinates the isolated tones to the discreet harmony of gray and beige.

It is somewhat difficult to determine the chronological place of this painting in the work of the artist. In the simplicity of the composition with the solitary figure in the first plane dominating the entire panel and surrounded by little figures which fill the surface, it is closely related to youthful works of the artist, for example, to the *Saint John in Pathos* in Berlin.²

This compositional type goes back to a tradition of which the most significant example in the Dutch painting before Bosch was the *Saint John the Baptist* in Berlin by Geertgen tot Sint Jans. Here one can find the same disposition, with the isolated figure in the first plane for whose head

²Reproduced in C. de Tolnay, *Hieronymus Bosch*, Bâle 1937, fig. 17, 18.

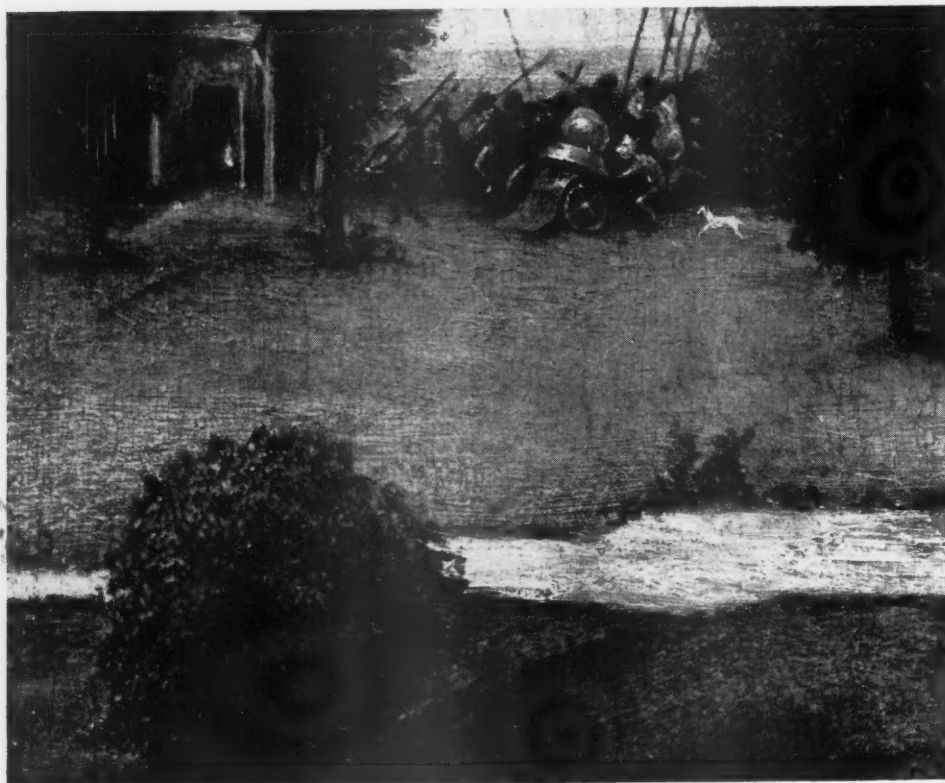


FIG. 2. HIERONYMUS BOSCH: TEMPTATION OF SAINT ANTHONY (detail)
Private Collection, New York

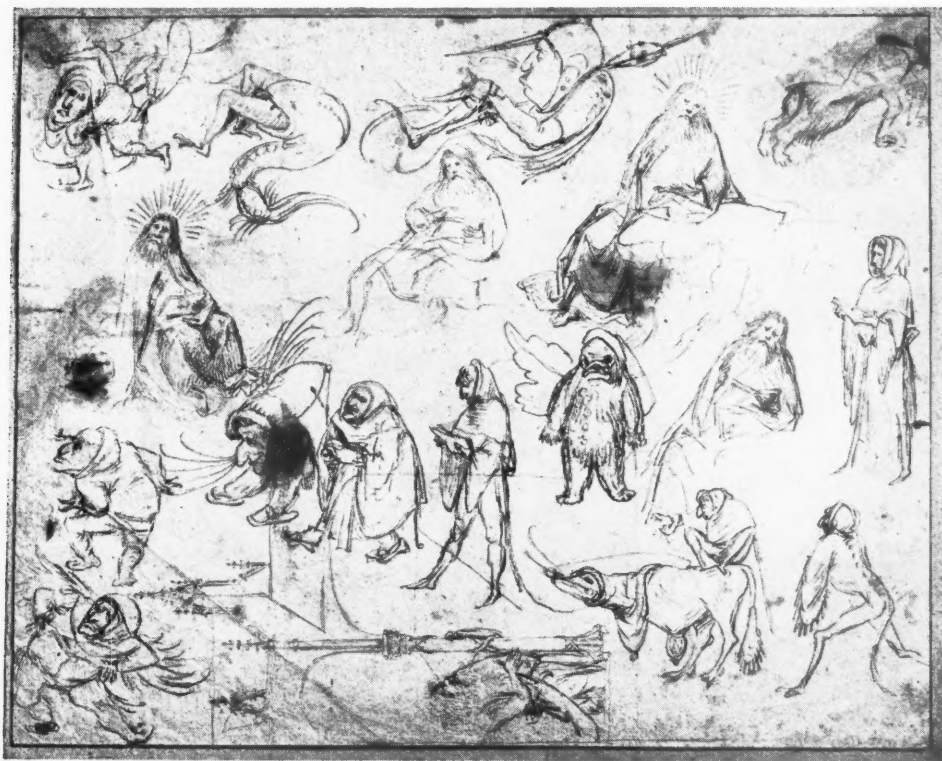


FIG. 3. HIERONYMUS BOSCH: STUDIES FOR A TEMPTATION OF SAINT ANTHONY
Louvre, Paris

a small hill forms a setting and behind that (or more precisely above) an idyllic landscape with some trees and a lake.

But while for Geertgen there exists a discrepancy between the plastic and spatial conception of the figure and the landscape on the one hand and the surface effect of the panel on the other, Bosch, with perfect taste, renounces as far as possible the plastic-spatial effects to keep the harmony of the surface. This is clearly visible in the calligraphic play of the border of the mantle and in the stratification of the elements of the landscape.

Bosch himself was originally nearer to Geertgen as can be seen in the drawing of the *Temptation of Saint Anthony* in Berlin.³ Here there is not yet a play of the border of the mantle, but straight and angular folds, and in the landscape he still accentuates the diagonal, giving more impression of depth.

In the Louvre there is another sheet with several sketches for the *Temptation of Saint Anthony*⁴ (Fig. 3). That at the left prepares directly the

³Reproduced in *op. cit.*, fig. 101 (at the top). ⁴Reproduced in *op. cit.*, fig. 102 (at the top).

pose and drapery of our painting. The saint is seated in a three-quarter profile; he holds in his left hand a prayer book and raises his right hand in a gesture of benediction. The mantle falls to the ground on one side and is draped over his knees on the other. These are all features which recur in the painting. Only the head is changed from a sideward to a straight position. The Louvre sketch seems to be a preparatory drawing for our painting and it is an exceptional case for Bosch that preparatory drawing and execution are still preserved.

The calligraphic play of the folds lead us to believe that the painting, in spite of its old-fashioned composition, should be dated in Bosch's second period. This assumption is supported by the haggard face of the saint which finds its analogies in the altar in Lisbon and also in the gamut of colors where the contrast between the cold ash and silvery gray of the mantle and the warm brownish tones of the hills dominate — a gamut which will recur in the Lisbon altar. It seems likely that our painting was executed shortly before the Lisbon altar in the last decade of the fifteenth century.

The motifs which Bosch represented around the saint partly anticipate later works. The nude woman behind the saint will recur almost exactly on the left wing of the *Eremite Altar* in Venice,⁵ and the demon supporting the shell on his back appears in a more developed version in the middle wing of the *Jardin des Délices* in the Escorial.⁶

The significance of these monsters around the saint seems two-fold. It is a social satire where the clergy (a demon-like monk reading a prayer book), the bourgeois (a demon with a cap), the feudal seigneur (a demon with a helmet), are caricatured. On the other hand there are symbols of sexual pleasures (naked women, the monster next to the left knee of the saint, and the monster at the left with the shell — a motif of which the writer has given an interpretation elsewhere⁷).

In the background there is a fire in a hovel with people running to put it out — modest anticipation of the grandiose burning village in the background of the middle wing of the altar in Lisbon.

At first Bosch prepared the panel with a clear beige color. Then he drew on the prepared surface the disposition of the landscape and of the figure (the strokes of this drawing are still partly visible through the folds of the mantle). Finally he painted with a fine brush, sometimes *alla prima*, more often going over the same thing two or three times, but always keeping the strokes separate in contrast to the earlier paintings of the Dutch

⁵Reproduced in *op. cit.*, fig. 55, 56, and 57.

⁶Reproduced in *op. cit.*, fig. 70.

⁷Cf. *op. cit.*, p. 32 and note 101.

school where the touches are blended, becoming individually invisible and taking on the aspect of smalt.

Bosch begins with a conventional representation of the saint, who holds in one hand a prayer book and who makes the gesture of benediction with the other. So he appears in the drawings in Berlin and in Paris and in the New York painting. Only within the frame of this conventional type Bosch tries to express by the spiritualization of the features and by the contemplative and visionary look the life of the soul. In the Lisbon altar it is for the first time that he timidly tries to get away from this tradition. In the Saint Anthony of the middle wing of this altar he suppresses the book and keeps only the gesture of benediction⁸; in the right wing he keeps only the book and leaves out the gesture.⁹ What is more important is the fact that here for the first time the sitting position is individualized and expresses the fear of the saint surrounded by his temptations. Bosch goes even farther in his last *Saint Anthony* in the Prado.¹⁰ The saint cringes in fear, his feverish eyes staring in another world. All conventional elements have been transformed into expression. Yet the immobility of the whole is even here retained. The life of the soul is not expressed by gestures as in Italian art, but conceived as a purely internal event, expressed chiefly by the countenance.

This contrast between outer calm and deep inner emotion is one of the qualities in Bosch which anticipates the greatest achievements of Dutch painting in the seventeenth century: the late religious paintings by Rembrandt.

⁸Cf. *op. cit.*, fig. 37 and 40.

⁹Cf. *op. cit.*, fig. 45 and 49.

¹⁰Cf. *op. cit.*, fig. 92 and 93.

ROMAN SCULPTURE IN THE CLEVELAND MUSEUM OF ART

BY MARGARETE BIEBER
Columbia University

Roman art is much more complicated than Greek art. While the Greeks developed a national art from small and primitive beginnings, going logically through all the possible relationships of content and form, with a perfect balance of both during the classical age, the Romans developed their own art by absorbing everything that had been created before their time and by binding it together to a new form. The main characteristic of

Roman art is, therefore, eclecticism. In sculpture their main source was Greek art, but here also they not only continued the latest Greek art, that is, the Hellenistic art of the last three centuries B. C., but they also went back to classical and even to archaic Greek art. Their first acquaintance with Greek art was through conquering and plundering Greek cities: Tarentum in Southern Italy in 272 B. C.; Syracuse in Sicily in 212 B. C.; Capua in Campania in 211 B. C.; and Corinth in Greece proper in 146 B. C. Then the Hellenistic kingdoms in the east by and by fell into the hands of the Romans, first Pergamon by inheritance in 133, then the other Asiatic provinces by conquest until 63 B. C., and last Egypt was conquered in 30 B. C. by the young Octavianus, later the Emperor Augustus.¹

The conqueror, however, was soon captured by his captive, as Horace tells us.² Instead of buying or robbing older works of art, Greek artists from Athens and Southern Italy were commissioned to give to their Roman masters copies and adaptations of Greek masterpieces of the different periods. We are told of Augustus that he liked archaic sculpture, a taste which our age shares. Accordingly, we have a large group of so-called Neo-Attic reliefs,³ or reliefs worked by Attic artists of the first century B. C. Their style is sometimes classicizing, or an imitation of the style of the fifth and fourth century B. C., sometimes archaizing, or an imitation of the sixth century B. C., sometimes a mixture of both, or of one or both of them with the contemporary late Hellenistic style. Of the latter, Cleveland has two good examples. The one (Fig. 1), carved of Attic Pentelic marble, is said to have been found in the theatre of Capua.⁴ It is a so-called citharoedic, or Delphic, relief, because it represents the Apollo Citharoedus of Delphi, the cithara singer, playing the cithara and singing to it. He here receives an offering of wine which Nike pours out from an elegant wine jug, into the bowl, which Apollo holds in his right hand. Between the two stands the omphalos, the navel or center of the world, believed to be in the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, decorated with sacred fillets. The artists tried to imitate the archaic style by laying the edges of Apollo's mantle and of the overfold of Nike's peplos in regular zigzag folds; by rope-like twist-

¹Cp. my article on Greek Sculpture in the Cleveland Museum of Art in *Art in America*, vol. 31, no. 3, 1943, pp. 113-26. I wish to thank again Director W. M. Milliken and Assistant Curator Silvia Wunderlich for their kind and gracious permission to publish their treasures.

²Horace, *Epist.* II, i, 156: "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latio." ("Conquered Greece took her rude victor captive and brought the arts to the rustic Latium.") The letter was written in ca. 15-14 B. C. and addressed to the Emperor Augustus.

³Hauser, *Neuattische Reliefs* (1889). Eduard Schmidt, *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* (1922).

⁴Mus. No. 30.522. H. O. 415 m. *The Art News* 1930, Nov. 22, p. 8.

ing of Apollo's shoulder curls; and by drawing the ends of his long hair through a metal ring. But the soft features of the faces, the slender proportions of the bodies, and the realistic rendering of the rich plumage of the beautiful wings betray the late Hellenistic or early Roman period of the first century B. C. There are four other complete replicas of the group known.⁵ One in the Louvre is the same as the one in Cleveland. In the

⁵Schreiber, *Hellenistische Reliefbilder*, Pls. 34-36. Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 344. The one in the Louvre, equal to Cleveland's, is illustrated in Tod-Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* 23, fig. 126. The upper part of the two figures is repeated in a fragment, Helbig, *La Collection Barracco*, Pl. XXXIIIa. E. Douglas van Buren, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* III (1919), 98 f., Pl. 75.



FIG. 1. NEO-ATTIC RELIEF OF APOLLO AND NIKE (1 Century B. C.)
Cleveland Museum of Art

others Artemis and Leto follow their brother and son, while rich background is laid behind the figures in the form of a big temple overlooking the wall of a sacred precinct, flanked by a tripod on a high pilaster and a plane tree. Next to Nike there is a statue on a pillar and an altar, while the omphalos is missing. The sculptors of the Cleveland relief and the one in the Louvre have added it to indicate the place of action, Delphi. The group on the Citharoedic reliefs has been thought to be copied from the pediment sculptures made by Praxias (ca. 350-340 B. C.) at Delphi, representing Artemis, Leto, and Apollo,⁶ and on the other hand they have been dated in the Hadrianic period (117-138 A. D.).⁷ I do not see any reason to separate the reliefs from the other Neo-Attic works which were carved for the Romans by Attic sculptors of the first century B. C. in an affectedly archaistic and hieratic style.

The second Neo-Attic relief in Cleveland (Fig. 2)⁸ found in Corfu, is also of Pentelic marble. It is the fragment of a large, round altar, of which only two figures and the attribute of a third have been preserved, but which originally must have been decorated with the figures of the twelve main gods like an altar in the Capitoline Museum.⁹ Completely preserved is only Athena, holding her spear, with an affected gesture, loosely between thumb and forefinger, while in the left hand she holds her Attic helmet with a high crest. Her aegis has the shape of a shamrock, an unique feature. She wears a chiton, which appears only above her feet and over her left upper arm, and a peplos with long overfold. The god before her could be either Hermes with his herald's staff, or Apollo with his bow. The type is more like Apollo on other archaistic monuments, but the staff in the left hand is not curved and therefore can hardly be the weapon of Apollo. It is an eclectic mixture of the two types used for Hermes or Apollo.¹⁰ The third figure may have been Zeus with his scepter.¹¹ The figures are still more elongated than on the other relief in Cleve-

⁶E. Douglas van Buren, *op. cit.*, 91 ff.

⁷Studniczka, *Jahrbuch des Deutschen archäologischen Instituts* XXI (1906), 84 ff. Klein, *Rokoko* 188, note 184.

⁸Mus. No. 348.15. H. ca. 0.80 m. or 2 feet 7 inches. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 6, 1919, p. 44 f. with ill. on p. 41. Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculpture in American Collections* 153 f. Fig. 184. Eduard Schmidt, *op. cit.* 24 f. Pl. X, 2.

⁹H. Stuart Jones, *A Catalogue of the Museo Capitolino*, 106 ff. Galleria 31 b, Pl. 29. E. Douglas van Buren, *op. cit.* 96, Pl. 72, Fig. 3.

¹⁰Cp. the types Pl. 1, Nos. 1 and 2 in Hauser, *op. cit.* These and the Athena type, Pl. 1, No. 4 appear together on the monuments, Hauser, *op. cit.* Nos. 41-43a, p. 34 f.

¹¹Hauser, *op. cit.* Pl. 1, No. 5. It appears on the same monuments, Hauser Nos. 43 and 43a, with the other types in the preceding note, and on Hauser Nos. 44-46. E. Douglas van Buren, *op. cit.* Pl. 72, Fig. 2.

land. The heads are very small. The ends of the small mantle of Hermes and of the overfolds of Athena's peplos are genuine, exaggerated swallowtail folds, a favorite device of the Neo-Attic artists. The naturalistic rendering of the body and feet of Hermes and of the folds over the legs of Athena are in contrast to the affected, archaistic style of the other parts of the relief. It is an excellent example of the mannerism which this eclectic style developed in the early Roman period.¹²

While decorative, hieratic, and ideal sculpture of the Romans grew out of a mixture of styles from several Greek periods, a different mixture created Roman portraiture. This branch of art was practiced on Roman soil, long before the Romans came in touch with the Greeks. The Etruscans, who gave to Rome their last kings, the Tarquinii (616-510 B. C.) and their art in the first centuries of the Republic, had developed their own provincial but strong and realistic art, in which emphasis was laid not on beauty but on real likeness to the models. They therefore developed in an early period a veridical though coarse portraiture. This appealed to the Romans who were interested in an exact reproduction of the features of the head because they believed that an exact likeness assured the continuation of life. Therefore, they took wax masks from the faces of their



FIG. 2. ARCHAISTIC RELIEF OF HERMES AND ATHENA
(1 Century B. C.)
Cleveland Museum of Art

¹²Cp. for the affected style the relief in Villa Albani, Eduard Schmidt, *op. cit.* 23 ff., Pl. XIII; Lippold, *Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen* No. 4677, dated late Hellenistic—early Roman, ca. 100 B. C. Also the candelabra base in Dresden, Brunn-Bruckmann, *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur*, Pl. 150.

deceased, used them for the funerals and put them up in their houses in shrines which decorated the Atria, or later had marble or bronze copies made from these crude facsimiles. Such portraits based on deathmasks are preserved in great number.¹³ A good example is in the possession of Albin Polasek in Chicago (Fig. 3).¹⁴ It betrays its origin from a dead face by the falling in of the cheeks and temples, the drooping corners of the mouth, the elongated upper lip, the protruding cheekbones, the deep folds from nose to mouth and mouth to chin. All details like the little crow's-feet outside the eyes and the heavy folds of the neck are faithfully rendered. In contrast, the hair and the ears are superficially rendered and the rear side is only slightly sketched. The reason is that the wax model was taken from the face only, while the sides and back had to be added freely by the sculptor.

This simple and realistic portraiture flourished in the last century of the Republic, but lived on for lower classes during the first century of the Empire also.¹⁵ The upper classes, however, were not content with these simple likenesses. They commissioned Greek artists for their portraits; thus, in the late Republican and early Augustan periods portraiture reached a high level. The best of Italian and of Hellenistic elements were blended in heads which belong to the highest achievements of the art of portraiture of all times. Cleveland possesses one of the finest examples of this kind (Fig. 4).¹⁶ We have here the same recording of facts as in the Chicago head but all is given in a Greek style, with subtle modeling and delicate chasing of the hair and eyebrows. The Roman character is brought out by the large ears and the serious and determined expression of the features. This must have originally come out still clearer, when the eyes, probably inset in colored material, were not yet lost. The stylization of the hair in layers is already Augustan. The head was probably created in the early Augustan period, thus in the last decades of the first century B. C.¹⁷ We can learn here how the Hellenism, which the Romans accepted so willingly, was used to express the Roman spirit.

¹³Annie Zadoks-Josephus Jitta, *Ancestral Portraiture in Rome and the Art of the Last Century of the Republic* (1932), particularly Pls. VIII, IXa, XIIIa, and XVa. West, *Römische Porträtplastik*, p. 48 ff. Pls. X-XII, Nos. 33-47. Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen antiker Skulpturen*, Nos. 3049-3051 and 3323-3324. The latter is a tombstone in Villa Albani of an old woman who looks like the female counterpart to the portrait in Chicago.

¹⁴Lent to the Chicago Art Institute by Mr. Polasek. H. 0.26 m.

¹⁵Compare the tombstones with portraits of the Claudian and Flavian periods in Altmann, *Die römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, 196 ff, particularly figs. 161, 173, 182, and 184.

¹⁶Mus. No. 46.28. H. 0.38 m. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 15, 1928, 147 f with ill. on pp. 145 and 153. Magoffin and Davis, *Magic Spades, The Romance of Archaeology* (1929), p. 148. The surface has been restored through an electric bath by Dr. Colin Fink of Columbia University.

¹⁷The next parallel among Roman coins seems to me to be the one of the elder Drusus, named Germanicus, stepson of Augustus, son of his sister Livia, brother of Tiberius, (Bernoulli,

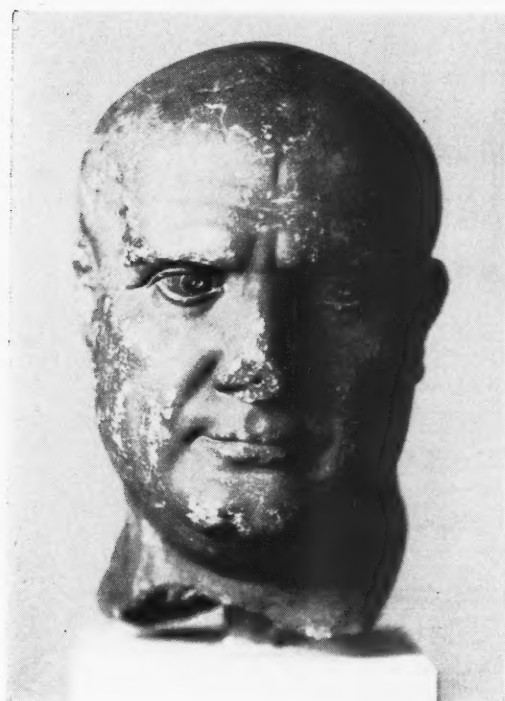
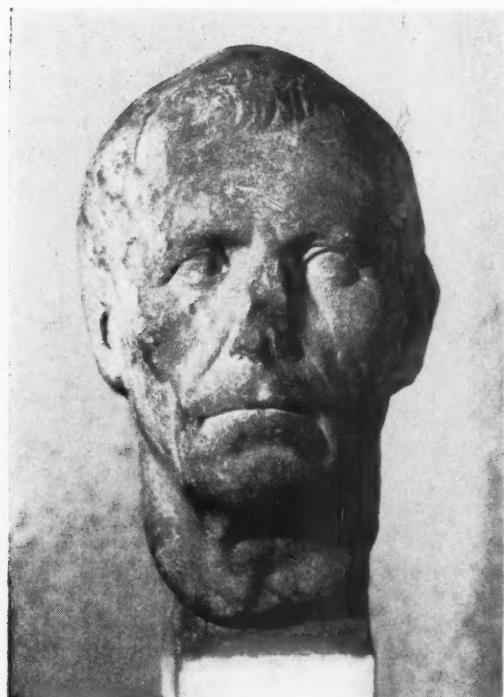


FIG. 3 (upper left). DEATH MASK PORTRAIT HEAD (Republican Period)
Art Institute, Chicago

FIG. 4 (upper right). BRONZE PORTRAIT OF A MAN (Early Augustan Age)

FIG. 5 (lower left). PORTRAIT OF A PRIEST OF ISIS (Late 11 Century A.D.)

FIG. 6 (lower right). PORTRAIT OF THE EMPEROR HADRIAN (Early 11 Century A.D.)
Cleveland Museum of Art

The Romans were not interested in the representation of the body. For their portrait statues they took the bodies of Greek types, draped or nude, and put portrait heads on them. The toga statues, of which Cleveland possesses an excellent example, are an exception (Fig. 11).¹⁸ It is over life-size, and therefore must represent an important personality of public life. This is in agreement with the fact that the toga was worn only by the emperor, the members of his family, priests and high functionaries, when they appeared in public. In contrast to the Greek himation woven in rectangular form, it has a definite prefabricated shape, and it is not draped like the himation in the most diverse ways, but in a definite prescribed fashion. The arrangement varies a little in the different periods, but it remains the same in the essential features for the first two centuries of the Empire. It expresses the severe dignity of the Roman Official, just as the himation with its diverse arrangements expresses the freedom and humanity of the Greek character. The style of the drapery with its deeply cut and sweeping folds is that of the Flavian Age (69-96 A. D.).¹⁹



FIG. 7. PORTRAIT OF OCTAVIA, WIFE OF NERO
(1 Century A. D.)
Cleveland Museum of Art

The right forearm, the left hand and the tip of the left foot were worked separately and attached with dowels, for which only the holes are left. The head is also worked separately and it is set in with filling plaster. It certainly is not by the same hand, though of the same period. It was probably also not originally intended for this statue. While the body is of Pentelic marble, the head is of Italian, so-called Luna marble from Carrara.

Römische Ikonographie II, 1, 209 ff, Pl. XXXIII, 5-8. West, *op. cit.* 132, Pl. LXIX, 68-69. Imhoof-Blumer, *Porträtköpfe auf römischen Münzen* 6, Pl. I, 13). He died in 9 B. C. in Germany after victories over the Germans. The next parallels in bronze I believe to be the Altmann head in the Metropolitan Museum (G. Richter, *Greek, Etruscan, and Roman Bronzes*, 142 ff, No. 325. West, *op. cit.* 144, Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 155; cp. Fig. 156) dated in the period of Augustus by all except Poulsen (*Probleme der römischen Ikonographie*, in *Danske Videnskabernes Selskab Archaelogisk Meddelelser* II, 1, (1937) 21 f, Fig. 47-48, Pl. XLI) who dates it too early in ca. 70 B. C.

¹⁸Mus. No. 29.439. H. 1.82 m. *The Art News*, October 19, 1929, p. 3 and ill. on p. 13. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 16, 1929, 137 ff.

¹⁹Cp. Lilian Wilson, *The Roman Toga*, 73, Fig. 34 B.

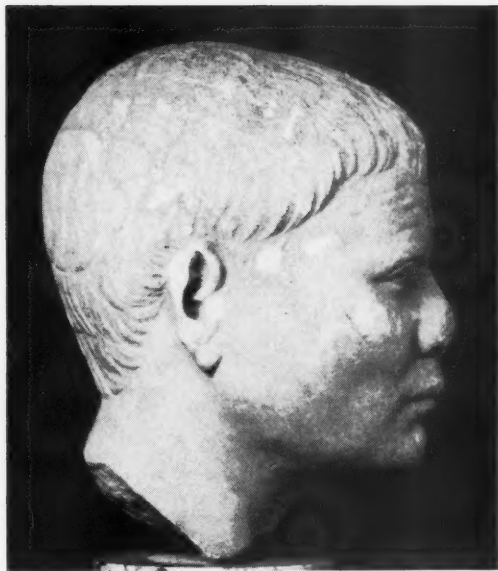


FIG. 8 (left). PORTRAIT HEAD OF A MAN (Flavian Age)
FIG. 9 (right). PORTRAIT HEAD OF THE EMPRESS LUCILLA (c. 165-169 A.D.)
Cleveland Museum of Art

It also seems too large for the statue and it hangs too much forward. The lower part of the nose is restored.

The head, however, is also Flavian. To this period belongs the soft rendering of the flesh, the sidelong glance of the half-closed eyes under the heavy drawn eyebrows. It is a middle-aged man with broad and wrinkled forehead, with some crow's-feet at the outer part of the eyes, a broad mouth with thin lips, and a short and broad chin. The same man seems to be represented in a head set up in the park of the Villa Borghese in Rome.²⁰ It is probably some important personality of the period of Vespasian (69-79 A.D.) or Domitian (81-96 A.D.).

If the head has been set up on the toga statue not by a modern dealer but in antiquity, we might explain the combination in the following way. Some important person ordered from an artist at Athens an over life-size statue clad in the Roman toga to be carved in Pentelic marble. Then an artist in Rome carved his portrait from life in Carrara marble and put it on the torso — not a rare occurrence, as we know that the Romans ordered copies of celebrated statues in order to have their portrait set on the torso.²¹

Cleveland has a second portrait head of the Flavian period (Fig. 8).²² It is an outstanding example of the impressionism which flourished in this

²⁰Mingazzini, in Arndt-Amelung, *Einzelaufnahmen* Nos. 2835-2837.

²¹Hekler, *Römische weibliche Gewandstatuen*, in *Münchner archäologische Studien Furtwängler dargebracht* (1909) 109 ff, Fig. 1-26.

²²Mus. No. 25.944. H. 0.263 m. Coarse-grained island marble, perhaps Parian. *Cleveland Museum of Art Bulletin* 13, 1926, 8 f, ill. on p. 12.

period. The short cropped hair is combed forward over the broad and highly curved skull. The wrinkles on the high forehead, the crow's-feet at the corners of the eyes, the cheeks with their high cheekbones and the square and short chin are chiseled with bold and sharp cuts. The small, deepset eyes have a fleeting, suspicious expression. The mobile mouth, with its protruding upper lip, has an expression of discontentment. The features give us the impression of a sensitive and moody personality. It is one of the best portrait heads of this type.²³

Female Roman portraits can be more exactly dated in most cases than male heads, due to the fact that the hair fashion changed very quickly, particularly with each new empress, as each generally set the style for her epoch. Thus, the head in Cleveland (Fig. 7)²⁴ of a young woman with a complicated hairdress can be dated with certainty in the period of the Emperor Nero (54-68 A. D.). Her parted hair has six narrow waves on each side. There follows on each side a group of stiff, small ringlets, which run up, like waves, to the middle of the skull. Long twisted curls hang down in pairs on each shoulder forward and backward, while the central ones are taken together in a braided, elongated hairknot, hanging down the back. While some elements like this hair knob, loose ringlets, and the front waves are older, belonging to the preceding Claudian period,²⁵ the combination with the stiff ringlets is not found before the mother of Nero, Agrippina, and the wives of Nero, Octavia and Poppaea Sabina, set the fashion. The best parallels to the hairdress are found on the coins of Octavia, the daughter of Claudius and Messalina, Nero's first wife, who died in 62 A. D.,²⁶ at only twenty years of age. This premature death was due to the intrigues of Poppaea, as Tacitus tells us.²⁷ The people loved her very much, mourned her early and sad death and set up statues to her. It is probable that the Cleveland head was one of these portraits made shortly after 62 A. D. The regular features are young and smooth and have a serious and melancholy expression. The costume betrays to us that the young person was a matron or a married woman. She wears over her tunic the stola, hanging with ribbons from both shoulders, a dress of honor given only to married and respected women of the upper classes.²⁸

²³Cp. the group of Flavian portraits: Crowfoot, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 20, (1900). 31 ff, Pls. I-IV.

²⁴Mus. No. 25.943. H. 0.38 m. Fine-grained marble, perhaps Carrara (Luna). *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 13, 1926, 9 f, ill. on p. 13.

²⁵Cp. West, *op. cit.*, Pl. LX, Fig. 265-269. Bernoulli, *Römische Ikonographie* II, 1, 376 ff, Pls. XIX-XXII.

²⁶Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 1, 414 f, Pl. XXXV, 17-18. West, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXX, Fig. 101.

²⁷Tacitus, *Annales* XIV, 59-64.

²⁸Bieber in Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclopädie*, second series, IV, p. 58 ff, s. v. Stola, 2b.

The other female portrait in Cleveland (Fig. 9)²⁹ is about one hundred years younger than the Octavia. It is said to come from Rome and there is no doubt that it represents an empress of the Antonine period. The hair is parted in the center and it is combed down to the sides on the crown of the head, while in front it is laid in broad and deep waves alongside the forehead. In the back it is braided and twisted in a small knob. The features are rather full and heavy. The bushy eyebrows are plastically rendered. The eyes have thick lids, the iris and the pupil are engraved. The pupil has the form of a half moon, with deep corners, which indicate the highlights of the eyes. They are turned upward and sidewise. The mouth is small but it has thick and sensual lips.

There are many similar heads, the best one being in the Museo delle Terme at Rome, found in the house of the Vestal Virgins, on the Forum Romanum.³⁰ The only difference between this and the Cleveland head is that the vertical waves on the crown are separated from the horizontal front waves by a braid laid around the head. The lady has been often named Faustina the Younger (130-175 A. D.),³¹ the daughter of Antoninus Pius and Faustina the Elder, who became in 145 wife of their adopted son Marcus Aurelius, the emperor 161-180. Others believe her to be Lucilla, the daughter of Marcus Aurelius and the younger Faustina, married in 164 to the co-ruler of her father, Lucius Verus, emperor 161-169.³² The difficulty in deciding between the two lies in the fact that Lucilla was only seventeen years younger than her mother and became an empress only three years later than her mother. Their coins show similar features and similar hairdress. I believe, however, that we can decide for Lucilla. She has a fuller face on the coins than her mother³³ and the soft hairwaves and the differentiation between the vertical and horizontal waves is rendered on her coins in the same relation to each other as in the marble heads, while on the coins of the younger Faustina all the waves are sharply

²⁹Mus. No. 25.161. H. 0.254 m. Carrara (Luna) marble. Jessie Glasier in *The Art News*, October 10, 1925, p. 10. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 12, 1925, 122 ff. Max Wegner, *Das römische Herrscherbild* II, 4, *Die Herrscherbildnisse in Antoninischer Zeit*, 211 f.

³⁰Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griechische und römische Porträts*, Pls. 756-757. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 2, 189 ff, 194, No. 6, cp. Pl. LIV in the Louvre. Delbrück, *Antike Porträts*, LIII f, Pl. 47. Max Wegner, *op. cit.* 48 ff, 210 ff, Pls. 35-38.

³¹Arndt, Delbrück, and Wegner have named her Faustina. Cp. note 30.

³²Strong, *Roman Sculpture* 374, footnote, names her Lucilla. Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, and 193 ff, 221 ff, Pls. LII-LIV and LIX-LX hesitates here and in other cases between the younger Faustina, Lucilla, and Crispina, the wife of Commodus (180-193).

³³Coins of younger Faustina: Imhoof-Blumer, *op. cit.*, Pl. II, No. 43. Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 2, Münztafel IV, Nos. 19-21. Wegner, *op. cit.*, Pl. 63. Lucilla: Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, Münztafel V, Nos. 8-9. Wegner, *op. cit.*, Pl. 64 a-k; cp. particularly 64 h, which to me seems to be of a striking resemblance to the Cleveland head.

incised and stand in an angle of 90 degrees to each other. The expression also betrays the low and sly character of Lucilla, who tried to murder her brother and therefore was banished by him to Capri and there executed in 183 A. D. In the head she is still young, not more than twenty to twenty-five years old, which would make it a portrait of the time when her husband was alive. We therefore can probably date it rather exactly in the years 167-169 A. D.

The highly polished surface, imitating ivory, and the plastic rendering of eyebrows, iris and pupil does not begin before the later reign of the Emperor Hadrian (117-138 A. D.). Cleveland owns a small but good portrait head of this emperor which does not yet have these features (Fig. 6).³⁴ In accordance with his coins³⁵ he wears thick hair combed down in front deep into the forehead, the ends slightly curled up. Hadrian was the first emperor to wear a beard, a fashion continued until Constantine the Great abolished it again. His beard is thin and short in contrast to that of his adopted son Antoninus Pius and the other Antonines. Chin, lips and nose are broken. According to the coins, the nose must be restored straight with a pointed tip. The style of the head resembles his heads on the arch of Trajan.

Hadrian did not only change the fashion of shaving, and the artists of his time did not only give high polish to the surfaces and a plastic rendering to the eyes, but the Hadrianic School changed the whole trend of Roman art. They turned from the realistic tendencies of the preceding period to idealistic types and motifs of classical Greece. At the same time Hadrian tried to follow in the footsteps of the first emperor, Augustus. Both tendencies are embodied in the torso of a statue of Apollo in Cleveland (Fig. 10).³⁶ The smooth skin of the body is set off against the heavy leather band with decorated borders, which held the now lost quiver on the back, and the deep folds of the mantle. From the lost head long strands of curls and a stiffly pleated fillet fall on the shoulders. The cithara, held in the left arm, is decorated with two griffins. The lyre is supported by a swan with long, curved neck and high wings. The swan stands on a triangular pillar, decorated with crossed garlands of laurel leaves and berries, bound in tufts on a twisted rope. Griffin, swan, and laurel are attributes of Apollo used by Augustus for the Apollo to whom he erected a sumptuous

³⁴Bought in Rome from Pollak. Mus. No. 24.535. H. 0.185 m. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 11, 1924, ill. on 178 and 181 f.

³⁵Bernoulli, *op. cit.* II, 2, Münztafel III, Nos. 15-17. Cp. pp. 105 ff, Pls. 36-38. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (1934), Pl. 1, 3, 5. VI, Nos. 1, 5, 11, 16, 18, 20, 22, 24.

³⁶Mus. No. 24.1017. H. 0.90 m. Carrara (Luna) marble. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 12, 1925, ill. p. 34, p. 35 f. *Handbook* 1928, p. 80.



FIG. 10. TORSO OF APOLLO
(Hadrianic Age)
Cleveland Museum of Art

sanctuary on the Palatine. On the tondo of the arch of Constantine, Hadrian sacrifices to an Apollo with the lyre in his left arm and a griffin beside him, who certainly is the Augustan Apollo on the Palatine, the cult of which Hadrian revived.³⁷ The swan appears also on the *ara pacis*, the altar of peace, of Augustus.³⁸ The statue in Cleveland with the excess of attributes on one side, however, is not of the restrained style of the Augustan, but of the luxury-loving period of Hadrian.

FIG. 11. PORTRAIT STATUE OF A
STATESMAN (Flavian Age)
Cleveland Museum of Art



Swan and griffin were not only attributes of Apollo, but they had early become funeral symbols of resurrection. Already in the first century A. D. swans, griffins, and also the laurel of Apollo appear with symbolic meaning on funeral altars and ash-urns.³⁹ They alternate with eagles, sphinxes and fruit garlands. All these three appear on an ash-urn of the Flavian period in Cleveland (Fig. 12).⁴⁰ At the corners of the lid, built up in the form of a gable roof, are seated sphinxes, the deadly demons, with double bodies, one body turned to the front, and the other to the side of the lid.⁴¹ At the upper corners of the urn below them are eagles, a very frequent

³⁹Bieber, *Röm. Mitt.* XXVI (1911), 227 f. L'Orange and Gerkan, *Der Konstantinsbogen*, Pl. 41b.

⁴⁰Petersen, *Ara Pacis Augustae*, 26 ff, Figs. 15-17 and 20, Pl. I. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. XVIII.

⁴¹Altmann, *op. cit.* 274 ff. For the swan cp. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, Pl. XIX. Altmann, *op. cit.* Figs. 14, 16, 17; 104. For the griffin cp. Altmann, *op. cit.* Figs. 24-25; 32; 97 (watching a lyre); 121; 123; 133. p. 155, No. 187 (with head of goat under paw).

⁴²Mus. No. 349.15. Eldridge, *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* VI, 1919, 74 f. Chase, *op. cit.* 184 f, Fig. 229. Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *Dionysiac Sarcophagi in Baltimore* 29 f, note 59.

⁴³Cp. the double-bodied sphinxes at the corners of the funeral altars: Altmann, *op. cit.* Figs. 40-41; 65; 67-76.



FIG. 12. ASH URN (Flavian Period)
Cleveland Museum of Art

symbol of immortality, as they, like the griffins, carry the soul of the deceased up into heaven, so for example in the center of the vault of the arch of Titus.⁴² They therefore are very usual on ash-urns and funeral altars.⁴³ On the urn in Cleveland they hold in their beaks a bandlike object which they seem to draw out of the flames of large torches. This, however, is an awkward representation of snakes, the symbol of the evil in human nature which the eagles, the symbol of resurrection, hold in the flame so that the fire may purify the soul.⁴⁴ This is the sense of the custom of cremation also. The torches, symbols of life and purification, are held by cupids, who also frequently occur on ash-urns⁴⁵ and later sarcophagi. They probably symbolize the souls of deceased children. A third cupid is swimming over water holding on to a large dolphin in the pediment of the lid. This alludes to the belief that the souls of the deceased were carried over the water of the ocean to the isles of the blessed. The heads of the three cupids resemble the heads of the three deceased, which are represented in the oval field between a horizontal laurel garland and a hanging fruit garland, both attached to the torches. It is not quite clear whether the three heads represent father, mother and child, or, as I believe, three children. Their names were inscribed in the now empty framed tablet. The style of the heads is Flavian⁴⁶ and to the same period with its exuberant illusionistic style belongs the rather overlaid decoration of the urn, overlaid in form as well as in transcendental meaning and symbols of eternity. Even the pillars, on which the eagles stand, are sacred *baetuli*, imitations of plant columns set up in sanctuaries.⁴⁷ The birds which peck at the fruits of the garlands, a hare and a rabbit which nibble at grapes from well-filled baskets at the sides, symbolize the short joys of the soul in its earthly life. One of the reasons for the accumulating of symbols may have been the fact that the ashes of three persons, probably of children, seem to have reposed in this one urn.

Some of the symbols used on ash-urns were retained when, in the period of Hadrian, cremation was replaced by inhumation, and thus big sarcophagi instead of ash-urns were needed. Thus, the narrow ends of a sarcophagus

⁴²Ronczewski, *op. cit.* 4, Fig. 1, Pl. 1. Cp. Altmann *op. cit.* 278 ff.

⁴³Altmann *op. cit.* Figs. 21; 39; 43; 62-64; 66; 77-82; 127; 130; 207a.

⁴⁴Cp. Wittkower, in *Warburg Institute Journal* II (1938-9), pp. 293 ff, 307 ff, Pls. 50-51.

⁴⁵Altmann, *op. cit.* 104 ff, Figs. 86-91; 135-138; 201; Pl. I.

⁴⁶Cp. the Flavian bust of a boy on his altar in the Capitoline Museum: H. Stuart Jones, *op. cit.* Stanze terrene a sinistra III, 18, p. 58, Pl. 10. Altmann *op. cit.* 221, Fig. 182, also the heads on the Flavian funeral relief Capitoline Museum, Galleria 65, p. 138, Pl. 23, Altmann *op. cit.* 204, Fig. 161.

⁴⁷Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.* 44 f, Figs. 11, 16, 35.

in Cleveland⁴⁸ are filled with large griffins.⁴⁹ Above them in the narrowing field of the sloping lid is a flaming torch, the symbol of the burning flame of life.⁵⁰ Other symbols are added: under the lifted paw of the griffin is the head of a goat, the sacrificial animal to Dionysos,⁵¹ and at the corners of the cover are tragic masks, the cult symbol of the same god.⁵² These two objects prove that the deceased who was buried in this sarcophagus was initiated in the mysteries of Dionysos and therefore hoped for a better life in the world to come.⁵³

On the front (Fig. 12) the lid is decorated with another symbolic representation: the four seasons, symbolized by reclining women, each receiving from a flying cupid a basket with the products of the corresponding time of the year: spring receives flowers; summer receives ears of wheat; autumn, or fall, receives a garland of figs; winter, with her mantle drawn over her head against the cold, receives birds, hunted in winter. The change of the seasons symbolizes the course of the life of man.⁵⁴

The front of the sarcophagus is decorated with the story of Orestes. To the left are rocks on which the three furies are seated asleep. They are the avenging spirits, sent from Tartarus to avenge Agamemnon, murdered by his wife Klytemnestra. The rocks represent his cairn, or sepulchre of rough stones. The two center scenes show the revenge which Orestes takes on his mother and her seducer, Aegisthus. He has just killed Aegisthus, who has fallen down backward over his seat. Orestes wipes on his mantle the sword which he has drawn from the body of his enemy. The old nurse in the background bends away and tries to screen her face from the horrible view. In the next scene Orestes has just killed his mother, still swinging his sword, while Klytemnestra lies dying on the ground, her head hanging back on the nape of her neck. Two furies lift a snake and a torch toward Orestes, urging him on to the bloody deed. They are

⁴⁸Mus. No. 1016.28. L. 2.10 m. Highly polished Carrara (Luna) marble. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 15, 1928, 90 f, ill. on p. 85-86.

⁴⁹For griffins on ash-urns, cp. note 39. Griffins on sarcophagi: Karl Robert, *Die antiken Sarkophagreliefs* Vol. II, p. 84, No. 69 c. Pl. XXIX; Vol. III, passim. Robert, *Journal of Hellenic Studies* XX (1900), 81 ff, Pl. VII b-c and Pl. XII a-c. Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.* 30 f and 45 f, Figs. 3-6 and 16-18. Toynbee, *op. cit.* Pl. XLVIII, 3 and Pl. LII, 2.

⁵⁰Cp. Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.* 20 and 50, Figs. 28-29.

⁵¹Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.* 22, note 32; 31, notes 65-66; and 46, note 146; Figs. 5, 13, 17.

⁵²Bieber, *Jahrbuch des Archaeologischen Instituts* 32 (1917), 74 ff and in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.* XIV, 2071 ff. ⁵³Lehmann-Hartleben and Olsen, *op. cit.* 20 ff. Toynbee, *op. cit.* 161.

⁵⁴For a similar representation of the seasons cp. the lid of the Medea sarcophagus in the Museo delle Terme. Toynbee, *op. cit.* 173, Pl. XLII, 3; and the lid on the sarcophagus in the Vatican, Belvedere 39a (Amelung, *Die Skulpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* II, 103 f, Pl. 10). Cp. for the seasons: Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs* Vol. II, p. 3, No. 1, Pl. I and on season sarcophagi in general: Margarete Gütschow, in Robert-Rodenwaldt, *Die Antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* V 3 (in preparation).



FIG. 13. SARCOPHAGUS (Hadrianic Period)
Cleveland Museum of Art

hidden behind a curtain laid on one side on a pillar ending in a herm. A servant crouches behind Klytemnestra before the curtain, trying to protect himself with a piece of furniture. In the last scene Orestes steps out of the sanctuary of Apollo at Delphi, stepping cautiously over a sleeping Fury, who now persecutes him as the murderer of his mother. He holds on to the sacred tripod of the god, who has purified him with the laurel from the tree, which grows behind the tripod. The story is clearly a symbol of human fate, guilt, and expiation with the help of a godhead. It signifies the passing of the human soul through trouble to peace.

The Cleveland sarcophagus was formerly in Rome, in the possession of Mario Carducci.⁵⁵ There exist three almost exact replicas of the story of Orestes⁵⁶ but also an enlarged version in the Museum of the Lateran in Rome.⁵⁷ The first scene shows only the one of the three furies who is seated on the ground. Instead of the others the ghost of Agamemnon wrapped in a blanket appears in the vaulted entrance of his cairn. Orestes and Pylades approach and salute him. Another change is that one of the furies in the third scene appears in full figure before, instead of behind, the curtain. In the last scene the omphalos is added to the tripod to indicate the sanctuary at Delphi. This version belongs to the Antonine period with its crowding of persons in a way which lets the background disappear completely and results in a turbulent play of light and shade. The Cleve-

⁵⁵Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* 183 f. I owe this information and reference to Miss Silvia Wunderlich.

⁵⁶Robert, *Sarkophagreliefs* Vol. II, 171 ff, Nos. 156-166, Pls. 55-56. Toynbee, *op. cit.*, 166 ff, Pl. XXXVII 3-4, XXXIX 2. None of these replicas has a decorated lid, except the fragmentary replica in the Metropolitan Museum (Christine Alexander, *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, III, 1, pp. 38-40, Figs. 1-3).

⁵⁷Robert, *op. cit.* II, 168 ff, No. 155, Pl. 54. Strong, *Art in Ancient Rome*, 103 f, Fig. 396. Strong, *Roman Sculpture*, 256 f, Pl. LXXVIII; Toynbee, *op. cit.* 164 ff, Pl. XXXVII 1. Wickhoff, *Roman Art* (translated by Strong), p. 165 ff, Fig. 70.

land sarcophagus, on the other hand, belongs to the period of Hadrian and is an excellent example of clear composition and narrative on a neutral background. Orestes after the killing of his mother is emphatically the center. On the ground to the right and left of him are the bodies of the punished murderers of his father. In the upper part the two furies on the one side, Orestes or, as some believe, Pylades on the other side balance each other. The two end scenes are laid on rocky ground lifting on the one side two furies and on the other Orestes and the tripod on a higher level, while the two sleeping furies on the ground correspond to each other. This almost Greek balance is disturbed in the Lateran sarcophagus. I therefore believe that the Cleveland sarcophagus preserves best the original design of the artist who invented this decoration. The myth is based on Greek tragedy, and the style with its clearcut contours shows the Greek revival which Hadrian's artists attempted. Yet the execution and the manner of presentation are Roman. It is the continuous method of narration so well interpreted by Wickhoff,⁵⁸ which with illusionism and realistic portraiture is one of the great achievements sculpture owes to the Romans. It is here handled with Greek clarity and moderation.

The latest Roman sculpture in Cleveland offers an interesting problem. It is the portrait of a sturdy and bald-headed man, carved in black basalt (Fig. 5).⁵⁹ On the forehead is a scar in the shape of a cross. It thus is a good example of the group of heads, originally named Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus the Elder, the conqueror of Hannibal and of Carthage (205-201, died 183 B. C.). The scar was explained as one of the many wounds which he was said to have received.⁶⁰ The heads, however, are not only of quite different and mostly of a much later period, but they represent decidedly not one person, but a group or a caste of persons. Therefore, they are now mostly believed to be priests in the cult of Isis, the most popular Egyptian cult, which was spread in all Italy and the Roman provinces.⁶¹ The dark stone used in the Cleveland head is a favorite Egyptian material, which occurs in four other clean-shaven heads also, while other heads of the same type are of Egyptian red basalt or of brown alabaster.⁶²

⁵⁸Wickhoff, *op. cit.*, 8 ff, 154 ff, 163 ff. Toynbee denies the use of this method because she wrongly explains the murder of Aegisthus achieved by Pylades and thus finds the Greek complementary method instead of the continuous narration, in which the hero reappears in most scenes.

⁵⁹Mus. No. 24.356. H. 0.365 m. Bought from Warren. *Cleveland Museum Bulletin* 11, 1924, 138 ff, 15, 1928, 49. Traces of red color on the lips are reported but no more discernible.

⁶⁰Bernoulli, *op. cit.* I, 36 ff, Pls. I-III.

⁶¹Dennison, *American Journal of Archaeology* IX (1905), 11 ff, Figs. 1-9, Pl. I.

⁶²Black or dark green basalt (nero antico): Dennison *op. cit.*, Nos. 4, 5, 10. Brown alabaster head in Berlin, Arndt-Bruckmann, *op. cit.* Pls. 199-200. Blümel, *Katalog der Skulpturen Berlin*,

The bald, shaven head is found in all priests of Isis, as testified by writers of the imperial period, by a wall painting from Herculaneum,⁶³ and by the portrait of A. Aurelius Cresces on his tomb monument with the gods Anubis and Harpocrates at the sides.⁶⁴ The scar appears on the portrait statue of a priest, now in Munich, in the characteristic dress of the Isis cult.⁶⁵ The branding with a sign, which is similar to the letter T, but also to the sign of life in Egyptian hieroglyphs, indicates that the priest, despite his foreign, Roman origin, is consecrated to the service of the Egyptian goddess.

It is difficult to establish the exact date of the head. It is probably the end of the second century A. D. The plastic rendering of the eyes gives the late Hadrianic period as the terminus post quem, but the engraving of the pupil as two loosely connected drill holes does not begin before the Antonine period and continues until the middle of the third century A. D. into the period of Philippus Arabs (244-249 A. D.). The person represented was probably of lower middle class extraction. He has a certain resemblance to Mussolini. It is a well-fed man, with fleshy cheeks and broad double chin, showing an expression of contentment with himself and with the good life he could lead in the service of the foreign goddess. Already the Greek historian Herodotos (II, 37) tells us how well the priests of Isis were fed: "There is sacred bread baked for them and they have each a great quantity of flesh of oxen and geese coming to them every day and also wine of grapes is given them." The fact that Romans served as Egyptian priests is an indication of the cosmopolitan character of Roman life and religion in the centuries before Christianity pushed all the other oriental religions into the background.

Römische Bildnisse 14 R 31, Pl. 23. For heads in red basalt (rosso antico) cp. Hauser, *American Journal of Archaeology* 12 (1908), 56. Venice, Arndt-Amelung-Lippold, *Einzelstudien antiker Skulpturen* Nos. 2634-5. Rome, H. Stuart Jones, *Catalogue of the Palazzo dei Conservatori* 264 f, Scala 6, No. 9, Pl. 104. Gusman, *Villa Hadriana* 273 f, Fig. 466 f.

⁶³Dennison, *op. cit.*, 28 ff, Fig. 11. A. Mau, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art* (1902) 177, Fig. 81. Cp. for the description of the ritual for Isis: Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride* Ch. 3-4. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* Book XI.

⁶⁴Maruchi, *Annali dell'Istituto Arch.* LI (1879), 158 ff. Tav. d'agg. I. Dennison, *op. cit.* 30 ff, Fig. 12.

⁶⁵Hauser, *American Journal of Archaeology* 12, (1908), 56 f. Wolters, *Münchener Jahrbuch* (1909) 201 f and *Archaeologischer Anzeiger* XXV, 1910, 470 f, Fig. 1.

THE PORTRAITURE OF THE SHARPLES FAMILY

BY THE LATE FREDERIC FAIRCHILD SHERMAN

While it is practically impossible to definitely identify any one of the many Sharples portrait pastels as the work of James Sharples — who was the best technician of this unusual family of artists which included beside him, his wife, Ellen, his two sons James, Jr., and Felix and his daughter, Dorinda — Mrs. Knox, whose book, "The Sharples," is the latest as well as the most exhaustive and best work available on its subject, errs I believe in attributing a great many of the pastels to Ellen Sharples and it seems simply because they are not so exquisitely finished as the numerous "Washingtons." Certainly any artist making a portrait of a great national hero would naturally spare no effort to produce a flawless likeness and one that represented the limit of his abilities as an artist in whatever medium he worked. Now while this is unquestionably true of the "Washingtons" I am of the opinion that it does not in any way invalidate the probability that the bulk of his other likenesses were not executed with anything like such consummate care but rather were turned out with a minimum of effort possible only for an artist with a really astonishing ability to produce a satisfactory portrait embodying the individual characteristics of a face with amazing rapidity. Such an interpretation of history in connection with James Sharples, or at least something similar, is required to account for such a popular success as all the records we have agree upon and the consequent unceasing employment that kept him always busy during the years he spent in this country.

The first article published here about Sharples was that of J. W. Palmer in *Lippincott's Magazine* for December, 1871. In this article he says, "His (Sharples) 'canvas' was a thick gray paper, softly grained and of wooly texture," a description that Mrs. Knox substantially repeats in her book, saying "The paper he used was a grayish tan in color, slightly rough and clinging in texture, and approximately 7 x 9 inches in size." I would add that the size as given by Mrs. Knox more explicitly is the size of the paper itself the area of the actual pastel being generally considerably smaller. The Palmer description of the quality of the paper I personally prefer to that of Mrs. Knox, though I would add to it from her description the statement that it is slightly rough.

The two pastels which I reproduce, picturing Alexander Saunders and his wife Catherine of New York City, are indubitably Sharples pastels,



SHARPLES: CATHERINE AND ALEXANDER SAUNDERS
Private Collection, Connecticut

whether by James, his wife, or one of their children. In 1809 Alexander Saunders was residing on the Bowery, then a residential street in the sense that Fifth Avenue later became one. His home was "near the 2 mile stone." In 1804 Saunders and his wife had transferred a property (real estate) to one Francis Tillou, and as no mention appears of him as a merchant or professional man it is probably safe to say that he was a gentleman of independent means. As such it seems to me unlikely that he would be satisfied with any Sharples portrait unless by James. These likenesses are on a rather heavy gray paper having a slightly rough texture and measuring $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and while evidences of rubbing appear on them both they are generally in a very good state of preservation. In the portrait of Mr. Saunders, a green coat, yellow waistcoat, brown hair and light blue eyes make up the color scheme. In the portrait of his wife, which is more appealing, a white Empire gown, white lace cap with light pink ribbons set off to advantage a profile of considerable charm.

The fact that the corners of the paper on which many of these Sharples pastels are executed are cut, neither Palmer nor Mrs. Knox note, though several pages of small reproductions of them done by Mrs. Sharples appear in Mrs. Knox's book. It seems to me hardly likely that Mrs. Sharples, keeping a home for her husband and their children, would have had much leisure to devote to the execution of portrait commissions. Even the children must have had far more opportunity, I imagine. Felix executed many pastels in the south where neither his father or mother or his brother James worked. His portraits are customarily in three-quarter or full face. Thus a Sharples profile is presumably by James, Ellen, his wife, or James, Jr., and more probably by father or son. The Saunders profiles in all probability were drawn on the first visit of the Sharples to America in the late 1790's when James, Jr., was about ten and Felix about twelve years of age and of course neither as yet actively engaged in copying their father's pastels or making any of their own, while Mrs. Sharples, it may be surmised, preferably confined her artistic talents to making the numerous replicas of her husband's portraits for which they received orders.

FRANCESCO DA SIENA — FRANCESCO VANNI

BY OTTO KURZ

Warburg Institute, London

In the April, 1943, number of *Art in America* Mr. J. Pope-Hennessy discusses some drawings by Francesco Vanni and outlines the development of this most attractive artist of the late Renaissance in Siena. *Art in America* inaugurated the study of Vanni with C. Brandi's article.¹ To these studies I should like to add, as a small contribution, a portion of Vanni's biography and oeuvre which has so far remained completely unnoticed.

At Salzburg, which was then the capital of one of the richest ecclesiastical sovereignties of the Holy Roman Empire, local tradition knows of a painter Francesco da Siena.² He appears among those Italian artists who were first called to Salzburg by Archbishop Wolf Dietrich (1578-1612), who planned the transformation of the mediæval town into a Renaissance city. Wolf Dietrich's far-reaching plans were interrupted at an early stage by his violent deposition, but his successors continued what he had begun

¹Vol. XIX (1931) pp. 63-85.

²Thieme-Becker, *Allgem. Lexikon d. bild. Künstler*, vol. XII, 1916, p. 310 (with bibliography).

and a considerable group of Italian artists worked at Salzburg throughout the seventeenth century.

Owing to the lack of documents referring to Francesco da Siena, the name was affixed rather indiscriminately to paintings by various artists and of varying dates. Nobody thought of tracing Francesco among the contemporary artists of his native Siena.

Yet name as well as period seem to point to Vanni clearly enough, even if no further proof could be offered. We possess however an independent witness to Vanni's connection with Salzburg: F. I. Ugurgieri-Azzolini mentions in his short biography of Vanni paintings executed by this artist for the Archbishop of Salzburg: "At Salzburg in the Cathedral, a painting representing the Resurrection of Christ and a St. Francis painted for the Archbishop of Salzburg."³ There is no trace of either of these pictures. The St. Francis may either have disappeared or be a misunderstanding for paintings destined for the Church of St. Francis. The Resurrection forms the subject of the painting adorning the High Altar of the Cathedral. This was executed nearly twenty years after Vanni's death by Arsenio Mascagni.⁴ While Archbishop Wolf Dietrich remained in office the new Cathedral did not proceed beyond its foundations; it seems however not improbable that he should have called Vanni to Salzburg with a view to painting the main altar of the new Cathedral and that the memory of this commission subsisted and was passed on to Ugurgieri.

The church of the Franciscan convent had served as cathedral since the mediæval cathedral had been pulled down after the fire of 1598. Wolf Dietrich modernized the Gothic chapels of the ambulatory of the Franciscan church. Two of these chapels were completely redecorated in his time. The paintings in one of them, representing the martyrdom of St. Sebastian, are traditionally ascribed to Francesco da Siena.⁵ On the altarpiece, in particular, Vanni's style is still recognizable under substantial repainting.

The altarpiece of the second chapel is a particularly fine painting by Vanni, though apparently unconnected with him by tradition. The *Adoration of the Shepherds*, illustrated here, has been attributed to an anonymous

³*Pompe sanesi*, Pistoia 1649, vol. II, p. 370: "In Salspurgh neta Catedrale una Tavola della Resurrezione di Cristo, ed un S. Francesco per l'Arcivescovo di Salspurgh."

⁴*Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. IX, p. 30, fig. 35. L. Pretzell, *Salzburger Barockplastik*, 1935, pl. 2.

⁵*Mittheilungen der K. K. Central-Commission N. F. I*, 1875, p. XLIV, where the picture is described as "much damaged." *Österreichische Kunsttopographie*, vol. IX, p. 96. F. Martin, *Kunstgeschichte von Salzburg*, 1925, p. 100.

German painter around 1600.⁶ But it is of far too good a quality and far too advanced in style for this least brilliant period of German painting. The picture shows Vanni's personal style and clearly denotes the Correggio-Baroccio tradition which dominates his art. The composition and lighting are inspired by Correggio's *Notte* but a comparison reveals the new tendencies of early Baroque art. The flamboyant design and effusive gestures, the excited atmosphere of mannerism, has been abandoned and a considerably more subdued and tranquil range of gestures and emotions have taken their place. The angels are no longer confined to the clouds above the main scene but enter upon it with the same natural ease and perfect composure as the shepherds. While the angels are in attendance behind the Virgin, on the left of the picture, the shepherds approach from the right. The young shepherd kneeling in the foreground is idealized in type and costume like the St. Joseph at whose side he kneels. The shepherd of the Salzburg picture recurs in a drawing by Vanni in the Uffizi giving a more elaborate version of the same subject.⁷ Apparently Vanni used the same study from the model in both cases.

The posture of the Virgin and the arrangement of the manger in the Salzburg picture also corresponds to the Uffizi drawing. Both give a reversed version of the group of Virgin and Child in Correggio's *Notte* but the flowing lines and sweet facial expression of the Virgin are reminiscent of Baroccio.

The two older shepherds visible behind the kneeling youth are of a very different order. Both are clad in contemporary rustic garments without any hint of picturesque raggedness. In particular the shepherd with the bag-pipes has strongly characterized individual features. The head of a Franciscan which appears behind this figure, close to the right edge of the picture might be a portrait.

Though the influence of Baroccio is still clearly marked, the Adoration does not belong to the "maniera vaga baroccesca" (Baglione) of Vanni's early pictures. The vague contours and blended colours have been abandoned for precise outlines and sharper modeling in a scale of darker and contrasting colours. By 1596 when he painted the Saint Ansano in the Duomo of Siena,⁸ Vanni had already developed this later style. The real-

⁶First mentioned by L. Hübner, *Beschreibung der Haupt-und Residenzstadt Salzburg*, 1792, I, p. 48, as anonymous. B. Pillwein, *Lexikon Salzburger Künstler*, 1821, p. 5, as by Leandro Bassano. *Österreichische Kunsttopographie* IX, p. 101 as "German about 1600," an attribution followed by F. Martin, *Salzburg. Ein Führer*, 1923, p. 54.

⁷*Art in America* XIX, 1931, p. 75, fig. 8. H. Voss, *Zeichnungen der italienischen Spätrenaissance*, 1928, pl. 21.

⁸A. Venturi, *Storia dell'arte italiana*, IX, 7, fig. 586. The picture was ordered in 1593; cf. G. Milanese, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte senese*, III, 1856, p. 266.



FRANCESCO VANNI: ADORATION OF THE SHEPHERDS
Franciscan Church, Salzburg

ism so finely represented by the musician in the Salzburg picture is not the only link connecting Vanni with the great new movement of Italian painting which in his generation tended to discard the pictorial formulas of Mannerism for a fresh approach to every subject.⁹ A new unity of the heavenly and earthly spheres, down to the landscape in the background, has been achieved which is not unworthy of the generation of Caravaggio and the Carracci. A comparison of the Salzburg altarpiece with the *Adoration of the Shepherds* belonging to Annibale Carracci's latest years¹⁰ shows a close resemblance of conception, even down to the realistic rendering of the shepherd with the bag-pipes.

In an otherwise almost uninterrupted series of documents relating to Vanni, there is a blank for the years 1604-05.¹¹ In 1604 Vincenzo Scamozzi, who designed the Cathedral for Archbishop Wolf Dietrich, went to Salzburg. 1606 is the date of death of the donor of one of the paintings on the side walls of the chapel containing the *Adoration of the Shepherds*.¹² 1610, the date of Wolf Dietrich's imprisonment, coincides with the year of Vanni's death.

Salzburg is renowned as the one truly Italian city north of the Alps. This fame it certainly owes to the initiative of Archbishop Wolf Dietrich who literally pulled down the mediæval city to gain space for his plans.¹³ Owing to his premature end his record is more of demolition than of construction and under his successors his plans were executed on a smaller scale and by minor artists. Thus only two really important Italian artists are connected with Salzburg: the architect Vincenzo Scamozzi whose grandiose plan for the cathedral remained on paper and Francesco Vanni, some of whose pictures are still at Salzburg, but whose name has been forgotten there.

⁹Cf. W. Friedländer, *Der antimanieristische Stil um 1590*, in *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg* 1928-1929, pp. 214ff.

¹⁰Dulwich Picture Gallery, No. 283 (or by Domenichino).

¹¹Venturi, *l. c.*, p. 1040.

¹²*Österreichische Kunsttopographie* IX, p. 101.

¹³R. West, *Die Bedeutung Wolf Dietrichs von Raitenau für die künstlerische Entwicklung der Stadt Salzburg*, *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* XIII, 1920, pp. 234-250.

THE ROMANTICISM OF FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT

BY JOHN FABIAN KIENITZ
University of Wisconsin

What we are to understand by the word *romanticism* as used here in relation to the theory and practice of architecture established by Frank Lloyd Wright will be brought out best, perhaps, through our initial comparison of two architectural achievements. This is a comparison of the living room in the 1935 *Guthrie House* erected at Palm Springs, California by architects Van Pelt and Lind and the living room of the Professor Paul *Hanna House* set up at Palo Alto, California in 1937 (Figs. 1 and 2).

Both rooms represent top attainments in two schools of contemporary architectural thought. The *Guthrie* living room is a fastidious clarification of living space for people of more than moderate means able to afford the best, and the *Hanna* living room is also designed for a family of more than average income. The two rooms belong, then, to approximately the same income level and we may assume that in each of these rooms the architects concerned have been free to build artistically as well as usefully.

In each instance the pattern of architecture that results is a positive contribution to the advancement of a builder's school of thought. Messrs. Van Pelt and Lind have made an arrangement which satisfies eminently the needs for life in a fairly tropical climate. And Mr. Wright has had the intense glares and seasonal conditions of California well in mind all during his creation of this room of elegant repose. The *Guthrie* room has the finesse, the coldly-calculated relation of harmonies and primary-color contrasts that we admire so much in the quasi-geometric perfections worked out by the schools of decorative cubism: Le Corbusier, Leger, Ozenfant, Lhote, Helion, Feininger. The *Hanna* room is not so bold in its assurance, and its pattern of light and dark calls to mind the energized contrasts of flashing light with profound darks that are ours in the romantic paintings of the nineteenth century. If it were not for his extensive use of the sharply-defining straight edge and the unimpeded progress of uncurved strips, Wright and his effects would be no more than the uncontrolled, copious roughnesses and broken silhouettes which mark so many of the romantic-revival houses of the last century (Fig. 3).

The floor in the *Guthrie* room is close-covered in a perfectly pure plane of blue linoleum. The floor in the *Hanna* house is made up of an openly-exposed hexagonal concrete slab. This hexagon theme is the basic pattern



FIG. 1. VAN PELT AND LIND: GUTHRIE HOUSE LIVING ROOM (1935)
Palm Springs, California



FIG. 2. FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT: HANNA HOUSE LIVING ROOM (1937)
Palo Alto, California

principle guiding the architect in his arrangement of his effects all through the house. The house is called the "Honeycomb" house and the inspiration for this hexagonal motif comes from the geometry of the beehive: nature's own. In the *Guthrie* floor there is a complete avoidance of any loose or tight association with the look or work of nature: this floor has the elegance of simplicity. It is divorced from all thought except that of a color plane to act as an equal-value contrast to the light yellow walls and ceilings. Walls and ceilings are again a perfectly flat planar progression which cannot be related to anything comparable in the realm of untouched nature. The ceiling and floor of the *Guthrie* composition constitute a simple and a perfectly obvious equilibrium established through the immediate poise of coolest blue and warmest yellow. The effect here reminds one of the unspeakable tranquillity achieved by Cezanne (Fig. 4) in his more successful canvases wherein we experience this same relation of a primary, select warm tone fused indelibly with a cool tone of equal color strength.

The ceiling of the *Guthrie* house is an honest single plane; the ceiling of the *Hanna* house must be broken into many planes of spatial contrast because of the architect's fear that some area in his interior planning will look poverty stricken to himself and the onlooker whom Wright is always ready to credit with a perceptive sensitivity equal to his own. The walls in the *Hanna* house, taken in their largest mass, are made of the same Cherokee red brick which is used for much of the exterior walling: this repetition of the theme of red is one of the *recollection treatments* which are unique with Wright as psychological intensifications aiding him in the creation of a never-fading harmony. What you see here and now is to recall, pleasantly and inevitably, what you've seen elsewhere in the immediate and remote past. In this continual dependence on esoteric or revealed association Wright tries to do for architecture what the romantic nature lyric did for poetry: he builds for his client or the spectator as the poet did for his reader a feeling of companionship with things large and small. In the *Hanna* living room Wright has through his ruthless subjugation of the fullness of the sun trapped the daily life of his client into a bower of repose where one can walk in beauty, well enough, but only like the night. Architects Van Pelt and Lind in their living space have had equal success with eliminating the glare of tropic sun, yet their room is utterly free from areas of shadow: they too have brought into being a poetic repose but theirs is rather a hall than a bower of rest.

In the *Guthrie* room the chairs are finished in white Fabrikoid and the

woodwork as well as fittings are in eggshell enamel paint. For his ceiling Wright still clings to the soft-brown plaster and the narrow stripping wood which have been part of his repertoire almost from the very beginning of his career. He has provided furniture of natural cypress and upholstery of a rough-textured brown which echoes and re-echoes the golden-rod, amber and earth color-associations scattered through the ensemble.

A glance at the composition as a whole tells us that the atmosphere has been used as an active agent in the scheme set up by Wright and that it plays the role, here as elsewhere in his building, of a personality under contract to the architect to act for the benefit of man. In the *Guthrie* composition the atmosphere has been stilled to neutrality; we know only that it is clear and that it hovers over every part of this pattern with equal force so that we feel it, if we feel it at all, as a cleansing of this pure cube.

In 1925 the Rotterdam architect J. J. P. Oud had occasion to say that he found in the forms of Frank Lloyd Wright an "involuntary romanticism" most noticeably shown in the betrayal of his structures of a "vehement craving after complexity." When he had reached the stage in his career which the *Hanna* living room marks, Wright was no longer so



FIG. 3. THE CASTLE, RESIDENCE OF W. B. HATCH (1859)
Tarrytown, New York

aggressively or vehemently in search of complexities to tie into a brownish harmony. By 1937 his had become apparently a cooler and more subtle, less aggravated or aggravating craving for complexity. The point is that this builder cannot do without complexity. He lives on it and it feeds his spirit. It is the rich meat his intuition must have. More meagre fare would force him into what he calls negation, into the world of matter-of-fact expression where everything is jejune itself, a fragment without relation to a poetic whole.

Wright has broadened his eaves, made smaller his windows and set stops in the way of an even entrance of light because he cannot do without composition in depth. At the beginning of his career this ability to model forcefully and all at once in three dimensions set him off from the master, Louis Sullivan. Sullivan placed his orientalizing conventional decoration on a prepared surface and then let the strong cube stand behind it: he didn't fuse the two. The synthesis is to Wright's credit, and he has persisted in his use of synthesis to such an extent that he has almost nothing, not even plane geometry, in common with the other modern school.

A comparison of the geometry employed in the *Hanna* and *Guthrie*

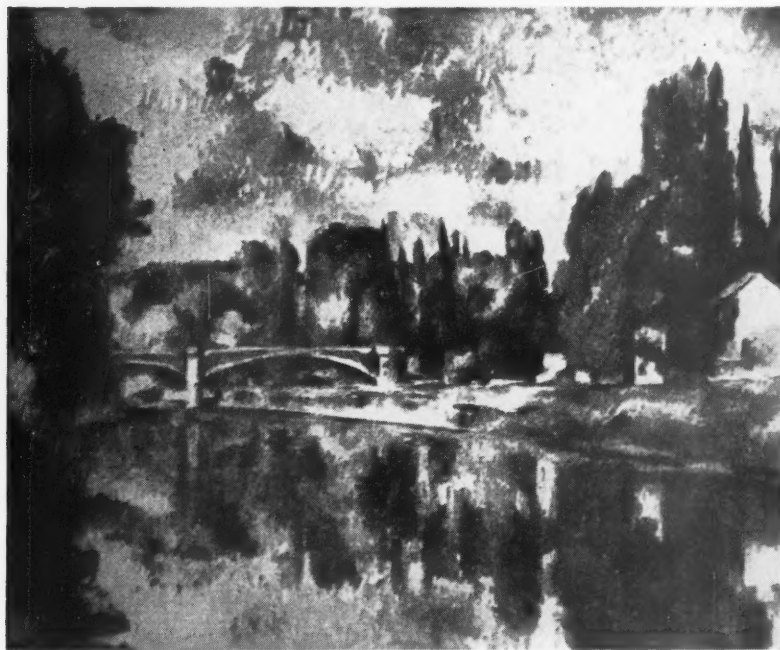


FIG. 4. CÉZANNE: BRIDGE ON THE MARNE AT CRÉTEIL (c. 1888)
Museum of Western Art, Moscow

rooms will aid us in making clear just what it is in this "disinfected classicism" that is so annoying to Wright. He has accused the functionally-appropriate architectural thought of being a cold expression in negative terms, of cardboard effect, of establishing a new rigid formula not unlike the "paper" architecture of the Georgian era. He has told us that because there is no Messiah for poverty, poverty should need no prophets. He has proclaimed poverty a disease. He would charge the *Guthrie* composition with establishing a cell for the calculated enervation of the client: he would see it as a testament to a bare-bones and dry-as-dust philosophy of life.

If he were to extemporize on the spiritual and physical values of the room he turned out for the Hannas, Wright would caution us not to be too single in our admiration of its wholeness: he would ask us to join it to the other rooms and above all he would insist that we wait for nature's loveliness and architecture to grow round, above, and inside the room before we could accept the room as finished. In the sense of Wölfflin, this builder favors the *open* form with an irregular and apparently unprepared-for entrance into space. In every sense of the word, including Wölfflin's, Wright would accept the *Guthrie* performance as eminently a *closed* form: and closed most of all to that persistent liquidity of rhythm which is his particular joy.

The geometry of the *Guthrie* room and of hundreds of rooms like it that I have experienced is both a plane and a plain geometry. It is openly revealed in a series of changes which are as primary as the children's schools that have that name. Its areas are clear from point to point while the areas of geometry in use by Wright are literally subject to change without notice. He makes spun-gold geometrics out of intangibles. The unique twist with which Wright uses his geometric basis is suggested in a statement he once made concerning his employment here of the hexagon as the unit of design. Wright declared that this was for him yet another experiment in building born of his conviction that "a cross-section of honeycomb has more fertility and flexibility where human movement is concerned than the square." And he has found that "the obtuse angle is more suited to human 'to and fro' than the right angle." He is convinced that this hexagonal movement is, in this design, "a characteristic lending itself admirably to life, as life is to be lived in it." He assures us that he has used the hexagon sparingly, that it has been permitted to appear in plan only "and in the furniture which literally rises from and befits the floor pattern of the concrete slab upon which the whole stands."

In all of this his metaphysic lies caught so firmly in a knot of intuition as to be untied by Wright alone. Here no one can follow him. And this we know from the fact that among his several imitators there is not one who has been able to achieve just that involved geometric strength and lyric swing which belong to the master alone. Other men in building, the creators of the *Guthrie* room especially, are unable to overlay their geometric basis with the weight of thought and feeling so essential to Wright. He forces geometry down so that his subjective preferences may triumph; Van Pelt and Lind are more objective and their personalities as revealed in their forms are no more and no less than the mild, personal-sign expression allowed by such men as Gropius, Mendelsohn, Lescaze, and Oud. These men do not prevail over the rigorous geometric discipline that is part of their philosophy of construction. But Wright must always be the master: he cannot work from a detached point or neutral stage. There are letters extant in which the mistress of the *Hanna* house pleads with the architect to keep more in mind the uses of the things he makes for her. The lengths of furniture, the breakings in and out of a wall or ceiling are determined by this individualist first of all on grounds of esthetic, as possible contributions to a picture of harmony. Harmony is desirable and is achieved in the other school, too. But hardly ever at the sacrifice of common sense.

We know of no architecture, with the possible exception of certain manifestations of *Art Nouveau* and *Jugend Stil*, which asserts as irrevocably as Wright's the truth that atmosphere is density, movement, moistness. The metaphor of water must enter into any consideration of Wright as a builder in the romantic vein. He has, almost from the beginning of his career allowed nature to form a cascade of growing art around his buildings. There is a curious parallel between his architectural, romantic and picturesque ambitions at his famous *Fallingwater* of 1936, country house for Edgar J. Kaufmann at Bear Run, Pennsylvania and a country house projected by the equally visionary architect of French Revolution days, Claude Nicholas Le Doux (Figs. 5 and 6). Le Doux's project has been published by Marcel Zahar in volume thirty-two of the English edition of the magazine *Formes*.

In his craving for actual contact with nature and its moving forms of life Le Doux has directed the cascade through a hollow in his house. And we know from experience with the cascading pool at *Fallingwater*, which is a milder venture toward the same effect, that Le Doux's client, the Director of La Loue, must be eternally grateful to his architect for never

carrying out this project. The noise would take him out of his enraptured state, demolish all taste for the romantic countryside, and force him to admit the greater desirability of the commonplace over the extraordinary.

Wright's solution to the *Fallingwater* problem is typical of the man. When he had been engaged by Mr. Kaufmann he allowed the months to roll by while he did nothing to advance the project. Finally, his client told him he would be out to Taliesin over a certain weekend in the hope that Wright would be able to present him with the scheme in full. Wright had seen the site itself but once and then only for a few moments. But he had taken away with him and allowed to gestate for many months memories and associations of a romantic glen and a rippling stream to rival Tennyson's. When Wright was forced actually to bring his ideas to paper he had his students sharpen pencils and provide paper. Over the weekend, and in good time to welcome and dazzle the client, the master had converted another romantic dream of liquid form into architectural reality.



FIG. 5. FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT: FALLINGWATER (1936)
Bear Run, Pennsylvania

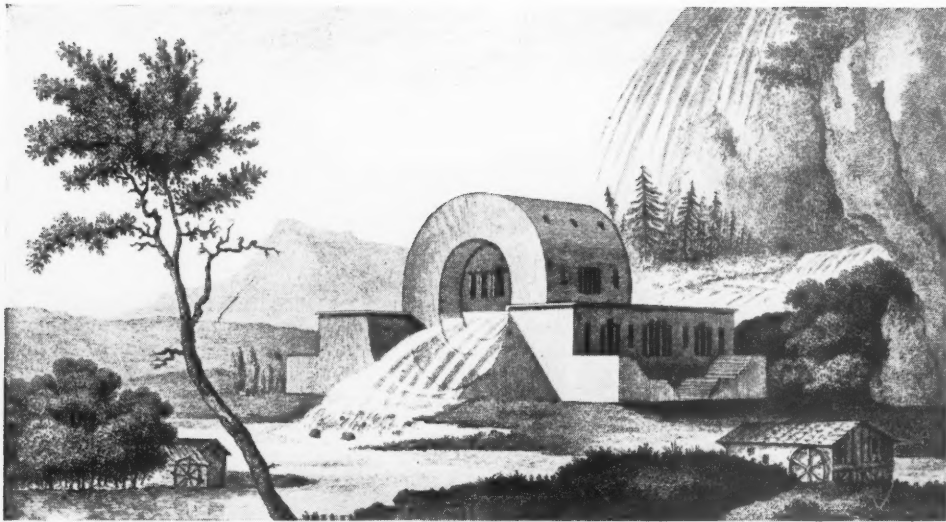


FIG. 6. CLAUDE NICHOLAS LE DOUX: PROJECT, HOUSE FOR THE DIRECTOR OF LA LOUE (c. 1800)

Fallingwater, like so many schemes of Wright, springs full-grown from the intuitive depths: it is one of the greatest spatial pleasures ever put together by this or any other architect of modern times. To begin with, the builder here introduces one of his most delightful personal touches: he joins the native rock which has been in this landscape for thousands of years integrally with the large reinforced-concrete slabs wherein we see the newest of the new. This is his prime belief and this is one more relation he has to romanticism: he looks to the past as an everlastingly worthwhile epoch, as something the evidence of which is ever valid, as a tool or material he can incorporate vigorously with man's latest synthetic product. This rough-faced blocking rock is as old as the hills and is venerated as such. This slab of concrete is the only thing, new or old, that could do this particular job. Therefore it appears here as co-extensive with the rock and both materials are honored in this companionship. So, too, would a romantic poet or painter tie the old, old story and sign of life with his contemporary delight in the vitality of man.

Someone, it was either Talbot Hamlin or Lewis Mumford, has related the running water of this stream to the swift purity of these concrete slabs and has taken the rough-faced natural walling to be at least a hint of the wooded roughnesses in the surrounding hills. This is a Wrightian parallel and perhaps Wright would accept it were he not so eternally engaged in carrying and resetting a chip upon his shoulder. *Fallingwater* recalls, too,

Sigfried Giedion's remark concerning Wright's once building "houses in the folds of the earth." And the architect himself has mentioned his entrances as being cave-like hollows offering a hidden retreat from the strains and vexations of our rampant materialism. Giedion speaks of Wright's bias in favor of materials which are humbly accepted from the hand of nature and used untrimmed, "unspoiled by the vulgar hand of



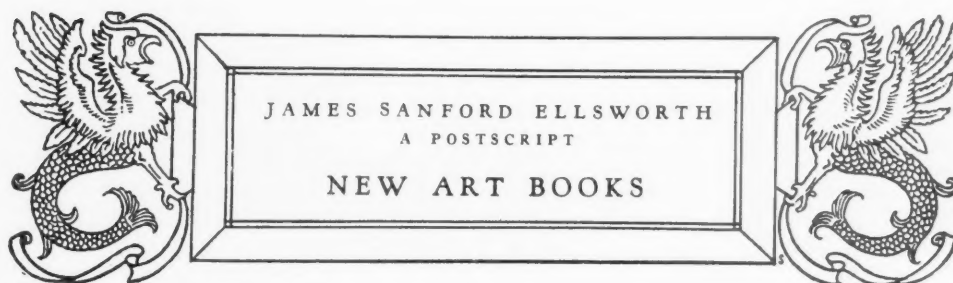
FIG. 7. FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT: JOHNSON WAX COMPANY OFFICE BUILDING (1936-39)
Racine, Wisconsin

man" as the architect might put it. And Giedion refers to a certain "cautiousness" of Wright's whenever it is a question of using new materials.

It may be said for Wright that at *Fallingwater* he has used the newest of architectural materials as well as anyone we know. He has made distinction of the recent and this has ever been part of his builder's creed: to use what is new with dignity and in harmony with the old. Something of Wright's basically lyric prejudice in regard to the use of material was con-

veyed to me by Sigfried Giedion himself when he came back from a visit to the Wright office building created for the Johnson Wax Company in Racine, Wisconsin (Fig. 7). His visit there and his experience in the interior hall with its almost-moving columns had convinced Giedion that "Wright is still the only man who can make poetry out of industry."

This architect succeeds not only in turning industry into poetry but he converts whatever becomes part of his experience into poetry. His poetry is involved. It will sometimes be lost to the rest of us because it consists too much of personal mythology. But there are graces in it, too, and they do honor to him in this, the fiftieth year in his career as an independent architect.



JAMES SANFORD ELLSWORTH
A Postscript

In 1926 the late Frederic Fairchild Sherman wrote and published an illustrated booklet entitled *James Sanford Ellsworth, a New England Miniature Painter*. This delightful booklet describes a remarkable primitive miniaturist's life and work, and catalogues twenty miniatures.

Twenty-five additional Ellsworth miniatures have been found since this publication, and are here listed to bring the 1926 catalogue up to date. Three facts in connection with the newly published group are especially worth noting: That while all the watercolor miniatures listed in Mr. Sherman's booklet are painted on thin paper, several of those described below are on heavy drawing paper; that unlike any of the twenty first listed a number of these are signed on the face of the painting; that two miniatures painted in Albany bring to light a new provenance for the itinerant miniaturist's work.

NEWLY LISTED MINIATURES BY JAMES SANFORD ELLSWORTH*

1. Middle Aged Lady. Size $3\frac{7}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ inches. Three-quarter length, seated in chair. Painted about 1850. *Private Collection, Andover, Mass.*

*Numbers 14-25 have been published in *Antiques*, 14-17 by the late Frederic Fairchild Sherman. Numbers 1-13 are here published for the first time. Of these numbers 1 and 2 were recorded by Mr. Sherman in notes which are now in the Frick Art Reference Library.

2. Elderly Gentleman. Bust portrait, painted on ivory oval, $2\frac{1}{4} \times 1\frac{7}{8}$ inches. Found in East Aurora, N. Y. *Private Collection, Buffalo*
- 3, 4, 5, 6. Four members of one family. On thin paper. Size $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Painted about 1850. *Private Collection, New York*
- 7 and 8. Asahel and Milcent (Wyman) Tower of Lancaster, Mass. Asahel was born in 1787, died 1859. Both signed on face "Ellsworth Painter." Size $4\frac{1}{8} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Painted about 1840. *Private Collection, Keene, N. H.*
- 9 and 10. Reliance and Federal Brinsmade of Washington, Conn. Size $4 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. On heavy paper. Painted about 1835-40. *Author's Collection*
11. A lady of the Folts family of Albany. Painted in an oval on thin pink paper. Signed on face "Ellsworth Painter." Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Painted about 1845-50. *Author's Collection*
12. Cornelia Wilkinson Cottrell of Albany. On thin paper. Size $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Painted about 1850. *Author's Collection*
13. Laurence Taylor (1798-1857) of New Milford, Conn. On heavy paper. About $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ inches. Painted about 1835-40. *Private Collection, New Milford*
14. Laurence Taylor (1798-1857) of New Milford, Conn. On heavy paper. Size $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3$ inches. Painted about 1835-40. Reproduced in *Antiques*, May, 1930. *New Milford Historical Society*
15. Mrs. Lyman (Roberts) Hine (1794-1862) of New Milford, Conn. On heavy paper. Size $4\frac{3}{4} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ inches. Painted about 1835-40. Reproduced in *Antiques*, May, 1930. *New Milford Historical Society*
- 16 and 17. Deacon and Mrs. Beers of New England. On thin paper. Size $3\frac{1}{2} \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Reproduced in *Antiques*, May, 1930. *Glenn Tilly Morse Collection*
- 18 and 19. Small boy and girl. Both signed on face "Ellsworth Painter." Painted about 1840. Reproduced in *Antiques*, June, 1933. *Private Collection, Minneapolis*
- 20 and 21. Unidentified Gentleman and his Wife. On thin paper. Both signed on face "Ellsworth Painter." Size $3 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Painted about 1840. Reproduced in *Antiques*, September, 1941. *Author's Collection*
- 22 and 23. Mr. and Mrs. Clark of Norwich, Conn. On heavy paper. Both signed on face "Ellsworth Painter." Size $3 \times 2\frac{3}{4}$ inches. Painted about 1840. Published, the Mr. Clark reproduced, in *Antiques*, March, 1932. *Author's Collection*
- 24 and 25. Mr. and Mrs. Shubael of Poland, Mass. Both signed on face "Ellsworth Painter." Size $3\frac{1}{4} \times 2\frac{1}{4}$ inches. Painted about 1840. Reproduced in *Antiques*, March, 1932. *Private Collection, Poland, Mass.*

— JEAN LIPMAN

NEW ART BOOKS

FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO. By Allen Stuart Weller. University of Chicago Press, 1943. 536 pp., 118 plates, \$15.00.

The author of *Francesco di Giorgio* has produced an authoritative monograph on the great Sienese artist which embodies the result of many years of work. Diligent in research, Allen Weller is, however, no mere academic critic. He has a fine taste, and the flair of the true connoisseur.

Too many people look upon Francesco di Giorgio, architect, sculptor, painter, medallist, civil and military engineer, author and diplomat, as a kind of inferior Leonardo da Vinci. This, as Captain Weller shows, is a very superficial view of him. Whilst Francesco di Giorgio did not possess Leonardo's vision and intellectual force, and was by no means his equal as a painter and draughtsman, in other spheres of activity he was undoubtedly his superior.

That Francesco di Giorgio succeeded where Leonardo failed was largely due to his patience, his diligence, his dependability. It is only fair to him to point out that he might have reached a higher rank as an artist had he been free to devote himself to his chosen profession. But Francesco was the father of a large family; and, because

he was unable to find sufficiently remunerative employment as an artist in the small republic of Siena, he was compelled to accept work that he despised—"vile e meccanica" he calls it—under a foreign government. He became military engineer to the Duke of Urbino.

Francesco, unlike Leonardo, persevered to the end in fulfilling faithfully all commissions entrusted to him, however distasteful they were. Consequently his services were eagerly competed for, both by great princes, and by the governments of City States such as Florence, Lucca and his own Siena.

It is inevitable that, in a book that covers so large a field, not all of the writer's conclusions should find general acceptance. I can only enumerate here, very briefly, some of the cases in which I find myself in disagreement with its author. In the first place, he does not admit to his list of Francesco di Giorgio's authentic paintings three pictures that I regard as thoroughly characteristic of the master. These pictures are the *Jephthah's Return* of Lord Crawford's collection, *St. Peter Healing a Cripple* at Berlin, and *Poppaea giving alms to St. Peter*, in the Louis Clarke collection. These works contain details uniquely characteristic of Francesco, both in their backgrounds and in the figures. No such details are to be found in the pictures of any other contemporary painter of his school and entourage. *Jephthah's Return* I regard as a masterpiece of Francesco's, full of that deep intensity of feeling that places his works above those of his colleagues and pupils.

The *Chess Players*, now in the Metropolitan Museum, is not, as Captain Weller imagines, a work of the artist's last period. It is an early picture as the treatment of the hair, and the costumes show. Even stronger evidence for its early date is to be found in the weak, tentative drawing of garments, so far removed from the firm, functional line of such works as the *Coronation* of 1471, and the *Nativity* of 1475.

Finally, like other critics, Captain Weller has laid too much stress on the influence that Girolamo da Cremona had upon Francesco di Giorgio, as well as the importance of the illuminator as a painter of works on panel. The present writer was the first to take note of that influence. Little did he think when he drew attention to it,¹ as it is revealed in the *Benson Nativity*, how much that influence would be overrated by subsequent writers.

That I have given so large a space of this too brief review to fault-finding may, I fear, give an entirely wrong impression of Captain Weller's *Francesco di Giorgio*. For it is a very sound piece of work, of which its author may be justly proud. In fact, all who wish to know more about Francesco di Giorgio, one of the great figures of the Renaissance, must perforce read this book.

— R. LANGTON DOUGLAS, *New York City*

¹*Catalogue of the Exhibition of Pictures, etc.*, held at the Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1904, p. 62. This *Nativity* is now in the Metropolitan Museum.

GREAT AMERICAN PAINTINGS FROM SMIBERT TO BELLOWES, 1729-1924. By John Walker and Macgill James. New York, Oxford University Press, 1943. 36 pp., 104 plates, \$5.00.

Great American Paintings is primarily a picture anthology of the work of Americans and of ex-patriates. The main section of the book contains 104 full page reproductions of paintings by only 48 artists. The greater number of plates is given to nine artists: eight are the work of Winslow Homer; seven each by Whistler and

Copley; Gilbert Stuart, John Singer Sargent and Thomas Eakins are each represented by six; and Mary Cassatt, Thomas Sully and Albert Pinkham Ryder each have five paintings to their credit. Less than half the names just mentioned are American artists in the sense that they spent the greater part of their careers in this country. The productions of the native American painter have been somewhat slighted in this book; the pictures reproduced come up to the international standard. This may have happened because the compilers were conscious of an all pervading provincialism in the productions of other American artists.

An anthology such as this presents a difficult problem for the reviewer because of the omissions. But on the other hand not one of the paintings included can be criticized as unworthy of the title of the book. If the compilers had limited the number of paintings given to any one artist to not more than five illustrations then perhaps the work of Greenwood, Jarvis, Inman and possibly Blakelock might have been included. The suggestion of more names of artists who might have been included leads to the contemplation of puzzling out just which names would be listed if the compilers had planned the book to include one representative painting each by one hundred first rate American painters.

The text which precedes the picture section is well written and carries the reader along through almost two centuries of American art history.

The majority of paintings reproduced are owned by various art institutions which means that they will remain where they are. A few paintings are privately owned and these in future generations may change ownership. But the fact remains that it is practically impossible for the collector today to form a notable collection of the caliber which Messrs. Walker and James call "great American painting." This situation, if the reviewer is right, is not at all unhealthy — for the enterprising collector today is turning to the field of native American art and finding great enjoyment in the work of such painters as Worthington Whittredge, Martin J. Heade, James E. Buttersworth and Arthur Fitzwilliam Tait.

Perhaps Messrs. Walker and James will produce another volume on provincial American art. If they do it is quite possible that they will find a wider and more enthusiastic audience for there is a great interest at present now in this field of the artistic works of the "lesser lights."

— BARTLETT COWDREY, *New York City*



